

Pomp or Circumspection: Glasgow's Episcopalians and the uprising of 1745

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The death of the Bishop of Glasgow

Alexander Duncan, the Scottish Episcopal bishop of Glasgow, died early in 1733,¹ and was laid to rest in the new kirkyard.² No new bishop was assigned exclusively to the Glasgow diocese. What can we learn about the final period of Duncan's ministry? Episcopal services had certainly been taking place in Glasgow, although the venue is less clear. The meeting-house, opened in 1728 opposite the university by a non-juror, Mr Wingate, had been forced to close, the magistrates citing the 1719 Act.³ Wingate was "sent off", and Duncan held services for "a feu of the upright, stiff Jacobites" in his own home.⁴

The meeting-house had probably re-opened by 1732,⁵ although there may be some basis to the later claim by James Cleland that in

¹ National Archives of Scotland [NAS], CC9/7/54, Register of Testaments 1735, 563-564, Alexander Duncan.

² Glasgow City Archives [GCA], Glasgow High Kirk Parish Registers, Burials iv, 1730-1739, ed. A. Jamieson of Barnach, 1972.

³ *The Statutes at Large, 1 George I to 3 George II, 1714-1729* (London, 1768), 237-239 (5 George I, c. 29): "An Act for making more effectual the laws appointing the oaths for security of the Government to be taken by ministers and preachers in churches and meeting-houses in Scotland." This laid down six-months' imprisonment for Episcopal clergy who, when more than eight people had gathered, declined to pray for George I, and the closure for the same period of unauthorised meeting-houses, with rewards for informers. See F. Goldie, *A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1976), 44.

⁴ R. Wodrow, *Analecta* (Edinburgh, 1843), iv, 8-9 (August 1728); 19 (December 1728); 26 (January 1729).

⁵ GCA, TD1022/11/4762: Deposition of Archibald Buchanan.

Duncan's time the congregation met in a dwelling-house in Bell Street.⁶ Church of England services provided for English regiments would also attract local Episcopalians, both Jacobite sympathisers (such as the Walkinshaw family) and non-Jacobites.⁷ It seems reasonable to assume that, although Episcopalians represented a small fraction of the city's population, for the periods when the congregation did not use a meeting-house the causes were external – legal restriction or local antipathy – rather than any lack of adherents, aspiration, or resources.

George Graeme

According to Cleland, Duncan's replacement, George Graeme, settled in Glasgow in 1740, seven years after Duncan's death.⁸ A rather different story emerges from contemporary sources, particularly annotations on Graeme's manuscript sermons indicating the dates on which they were read.⁹ These show that:

1. From 1729 to 1732 Episcopal services in Glasgow took place on a Sunday. Two sermons are marked "before noon", whilst one is marked "afternoon". On a couple of occasions Graeme first read sermons a week earlier at Cumbernauld, presumably at the Episcopal chapel at Bogedge.¹⁰

⁶ J. Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1816), i, 139. Bell Street may be the location of Duncan's lodgings, or a confused memory of the Episcopal services held in 1703 at the lodgings of Sir John Bell.

⁷ Wodrow, *Analecta*, iv, 19 (December 1728); 26 (January 1729).

⁸ Cleland, *Annals*, i, 140. Later historians have followed Cleland in his use of the spelling "Graham" for "Graeme". This suggests Cleland's source was oral, and has resulted in Graeme's autograph material being ignored.

⁹ Cathedral Church of St Mary the Virgin, Glasgow [SMCG], 60/1-7, G. Graeme, Seven manuscript sermons; NAS, CH12/16/144, G. Graeme, Manuscript sermon; GCA, TD423/2/1, Register of Baptisms at Musselburgh, Dalkeith & Glasgow by the Rev. John Falconer 1754–1793, pages from sermon covers bound into the register as fly-leaves.

¹⁰ D. M. Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy 1689–2000* (Edinburgh, 2000), 104. Gilbert Muschet.

2. From 1733 until 1749 sermons were delivered in Glasgow on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, or Sunday.
3. From 1751 until 1757, the dates fall on Tuesday, Thursday, Friday or Sunday. On all the sermons for this period, Graeme specifies that they were read “in my room, Glasgow”.

Graeme was, therefore, in Glasgow several years before Bishop Duncan’s death in 1733. Whilst the bishop was alive services took place on a Sunday, morning and afternoon. October 1729, the earliest date connecting Graeme with Glasgow, is not long after the departure of Wingate. If by 1728 Duncan was “nou old and failed”, as claimed by Robert Wodrow,¹¹ presumably first Wingate and then Graeme were brought to Glasgow to assist him, with Graeme assuming responsibility for the congregation after Duncan’s death. The pattern of services after Duncan’s death seems pretty random. If Graeme’s ministry were peripatetic, this is not reflected in the sermon annotations.¹²

It has been suggested that Graeme left Glasgow for good in 1746.¹³ The sermon dates show his ministry did not stop then, and assemblies of Scottish Episcopalians continued or resumed, with no obvious change to the pattern of meeting. Graeme’s careful record after 1751 that sermons were read in his room may not simply demonstrate a successful strategy to circumvent the legislation; the purpose may have been to satisfy the authorities, for why else specify the location?

Some corroboration for the length of Graeme’s ministry is found in a letter from the licensed Episcopal minister, John Falconer, who claimed that Graeme had been Episcopal minister in Glasgow for many

¹¹ Wodrow, *Analecta*, iv, 19 (December 1728).

¹² One sermon cover, beside the date written in Graeme’s hand (4 November 1739), bears the signature of “G. Jamieson”, with no explanation. See GCA, TD423/2/1, Register of Baptisms.

¹³ Bertie, *Episcopal Clergy*, 600, George Graham [sic].

years, dying a few years after Falconer's own arrival in the city¹⁴ late in 1757.¹⁵ All the information to hand, therefore, points to Graeme arriving in Glasgow in the late 1720s and continuing to minister there for the best part of 30 years, with the Jacobite uprising falling approximately in the middle.¹⁶

Glasgow and the 1745 uprising

The adherence to James VII (II of England) and his successors by some of Glasgow's Episcopalians is clearly demonstrated by the part they had played in Jacobite intrigue and uprisings since the Revolution. Of particular note is John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, associated with the congregation until his death in 1731.¹⁷ It was only to be expected that when Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, with his army traversed Britain in 1745, Glasgow's Episcopalians would emulate their forebears and join him; if they did, little has come to light to tell us so.

In November 1745, the city magistrates were confident that "there is scarce a Jacobite in our corporation, and that for eight weeks the rebels have been masters of Scotland, not one from it has joined them."¹⁸ Whilst a handful of men with links to Glasgow joined the Jacobite army, no Episcopalian connection is apparent.¹⁹

¹⁴ GCA, TD423/1/1, St Andrew's Episcopal Church minute book 1750–1805, 164–165, letter from J. Falconer to the preses and managers of the Episcopal chapel, Glasgow, 11 April 1796.

¹⁵ GCA, TD423/2/1, Register of Baptisms.

¹⁶ Graeme has not been traced in Glasgow burial records.

¹⁷ R. Edwards, "Terror and intrigue: the secret life of Glasgow's Episcopalians, 1689–1733", in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society [RSCHS]* (Edinburgh, 2010), xl, 57, 60, 61, 65.

¹⁸ A. Cochrane *et al.*, *The Cochrane Correspondence 1745–46* (Glasgow, 1836), 33, letter from the magistrates of Glasgow to Lord Justice Clerk, 13 November 1745.

¹⁹ *Muster roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's army, 1745–46*, ed. edited by A. Livingstone, C. W. H. Aikman & B. S. Hart (Aberdeen, 1984).

The presbyter at Ayr, James Falconer, was one of several Episcopal clergy to join the uprising;²⁰ another, Robert Lyon from Perth, would subsequently be executed.²¹ When the prince's army halted at Moffat on its retreat north from Derby the Commander-in-Chief, Lord George Murray, recorded that "it was Sunday [22 December] and, having Episcopal ministers along with us, we had sermon in different parts of the town, where our men all attended".²²

The Jacobite army reached Glasgow at Christmas. By tradition, whilst in the city the prince was attended by a few Jacobite ladies,²³ one of whom, Margaret Oswald, was the daughter of James Oswald, who had been the Episcopal parson of Watten in Caithness.²⁴ James Gib noted in the "Prince's Household Book" that "the prince dressed more elegantly, when in Glasgow, than he did in any other place whatsoever",²⁵ the finery presumably provided by local sympathisers.

After eight nights in the city the prince travelled via Kilsyth to Bannockburn.²⁶ If not at Glasgow, it was at Bannockburn House, where he was based for the best part of a month,²⁷ that the prince met the daughter John Walkinshaw had named after the prince's mother. Clementina Walkinshaw would later join the prince on the Continent,

²⁰ Bertie, *Episcopal Clergy*, 40. Three Falconers are mentioned in this paper: James Falconer (presbyter at Ayr, by 1764 at Westminster; see *Journals of the Episcopal visitations of the Right Rev. Robert Forbes, &c.*, ed. J. B. Craven (London, 1886), 32), his brother, William Falconer (Bishop of Moray, and latterly Primus), and John Falconer (incumbent of the licensed Episcopal chapel at Glasgow).

²¹ T. Stephen, *History of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1845), iv, 330.

²² "Marches of the Highland army, from the manuscript of Lord George Murray, Commander in Chief", in R. Forbes, *Jacobite memoirs of the rebellion of 1745*, ed. R. Chambers (Edinburgh, 1834), 76.

²³ J. McUre, *The history of Glasgow, new edition* (Glasgow, 1830), 129 note.

²⁴ J. G. Smith & J. O. Mitchell, *The old country houses of the old Glasgow gentry* (Glasgow, 1878), 227.

²⁵ J. Gib, "The Prince's household book", in Forbes, *Jacobite memoirs*, 155.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 155-156.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 156-164.

and in 1753 give birth to his only child, Charlotte Stuart, Duchess of Albany.²⁸

Glasgow's provost, Andrew Cochrane, reported after Culloden, that "we are 30,000 souls in city and suburbs, with scarce a Jacobite among us belonging to our corporation; not 20 who can so much as be suspected, and these mostly ladys from the country casually residing here".²⁹ Margaret Oswald's brothers,³⁰ Richard and Alexander,³¹ "were suspected of secretly assisting the financial arrangements of the prince, but by prudence escaped question". Another suspect was a merchant newly arrived in the city, James Dennistoun of Colgrain, "a hereditary Episcopalian and Jacobite ... who, prevented by the prudence of his father from joining the prince's standard, retired to England during the rebellion".³² The redoubtable Lady Barrowfield, John Walkinshaw's widow, now living at Sauchie, had "many concealments in & about her house" for fleeing rebels, whilst her brother, Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, could assist them with "a private boat below Stirling".³³

In response to the Jacobite uprising, Episcopal meeting-houses were sacked,³⁴ although what happened in Glasgow is unknown. Laws were enacted which made life very difficult for Episcopalians, both clergy and laity. Episcopalians were free to worship only in chapels with licensed clergy; to be licensed a clergyman must have letters of orders from England or Ireland, and agree under oath to pray for King George II and his family by name. For unlicensed Episcopal clergy, the

²⁸ *DNB*, lvi, 908, Clementine Walkinshaw. The association between the Walkinshaws and the Stuart royal family spanned several generations, see Edwards, "Terror and intrigue", in *RSCHS*, xl, 31-68.

²⁹ Cochrane, *Correspondence*, 89, letter from Provost Cochrane to Sir Everard Faulkner [Secretary to the Duke of Cumberland], May 1746.

³⁰ Smith & Mitchell, *Old country houses of Glasgow*, 227.

³¹ R. Reid ("Senex"), *Glasgow past and present* (Glasgow 1884), iii, 28-32.

³² Cochrane, *Correspondence*, 108-09.

³³ T. L. K. Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask* (London, 1870), 192-193.

³⁴ Stephen, *History of the Church of Scotland*, iv, 324.

Act of 1746 (called by Robert Forbes the “Ensnaring Act”)³⁵ reduced the size of their meetings from the eight persons tolerated by the 1719 Act to just four; the penalty for clergy flouting the law was imprisonment, or transportation for life for repeat offenders.³⁶ The 1748 Act (the “Explanatory Act” according to Forbes)³⁷ tightened up the legislation, placing a complete ban on clergy ordained by Scottish bishops, and extending transportation to the laity.³⁸ The laws were intended to be savage and unequivocal,³⁹ a huge burden for Episcopalians who remained Jacobite. Such penalties proved intolerable for non-Jacobite Episcopalians.

The Licensed Episcopal Chapel

In 1749, Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, received a petition from “the disconsolat members of the Church of England, now dwelling in the city of Glasgow, North Brittain”. The petition asked Hutton to provide a qualified minister to maintain them in the faith in which they were baptized. The petitioners explained that:

Of late we had a minnister, but the clergey of the Kirk of Scotland did not approve of him, being he woud not quallifie to the laws of

³⁵ *Visitations of Robert Forbes*, ed. Craven, 27.

³⁶ *The Statutes at Large, 3 George II to 20 George II, 1730–1746* (London, 1769), 701–704 (19 George II, c. 38): “An Act more effectually to prohibit and prevent pastors or ministers from officiating in Episcopal meeting-houses in Scotland, without duly qualifying themselves according to law, and to punish persons for resorting to any meeting-houses which such unqualified pastors or ministers shall officiate”.

³⁷ *Visitations of Robert Forbes*, ed. Craven, 27.

³⁸ *The Statutes at Large, 20 George II to 30 George II, 1746–1756* (London, 1769), 125–130 (21 George II, c. 34): “An Act to amend and enforce so much of an Act made in the nineteenth year of his Majesty’s reign, as relates to the more effectual disarming the Highlands in Scotland, and restraining the use of the Highland dress, and to masters and teachers of private schools and chaplains, and to explain a clause in another Act made in the same year relating to letters of orders of Episcopal ministers in Scotland, &c.”.

³⁹ Stephen, *History of the Church of Scotland*, iv, 334, 342.

the Church of England, wch is to pray for his Majestie King George, and the rest of the royall ffamily. We found no difference in our part of religion, only he prayed for our soverigin Lord the King – not mentenionen George our King.

We members of the Church of England cannot subbmit our selves to the nature of Presbytry, not but allowing but their doctring is good. My Lord, our ignorant may hear a prayer, but yet not retain it in his memmory, as there is allways new prays in the Kirk of Scotland.

Therefore, we thought it proper as being confirmd in the ffaith, that your Lordshipp will consult the rest of your breathrean, & send us a minnister quallified for our pious designe, which we all hope will be a presveration for our souls in the world to come.⁴⁰

The petitioners claimed that about 150 Episcopal families in Glasgow were prepared to provide a stipend of £40 *per annum*, and were confident that, with increasing numbers of co-religionists settling in Glasgow because of the “manufactiores”, the stipend would be increased, and a house provided.

Thus begins the story of Glasgow’s licensed Episcopal chapel, also called the qualified chapel, the English chapel, the Church of England chapel, the old Episcopal chapel, and perhaps now more familiarly known by its nineteenth-century name, St Andrew’s-by-the-Green and its variants. Up until this point it seems the Jacobite and non-Jacobite Episcopalians in the city had maintained a degree of argumentative unity, particularly when provided only with Jacobite clergy.⁴¹ The petition demonstrates that a significant number had now decided to detach themselves from Graeme’s congregation.

⁴⁰ University of York, Borthwick Institute, Bp C&P V/10, Archbishop Matthew Hutton papers, Petition: Joshua Russell, Richard Pagget, and Robert Parr. 4 August 1749.

⁴¹ R. Wodrow, *Early letters, 1689–1709* (Edinburgh, 1937), 260 (letter to Lachlan Campbell, 1 April 1703); R. Wodrow, *Correspondence* (Edinburgh, 1842), i, 361–2 (letter to James Hart, 31 December 1712); Wodrow, *Analecta*, iv, 8–9 (August 1728).

“Of late we had a minnister”, the petitioners had claimed. It is intriguing to find that the date of the petition, 4 August 1749, exactly matches a date on one of Graeme’s sermons.⁴² Graeme was therefore actually in the city as the petition was being composed. Perhaps something happened that day which spurred the non-Jacobites into action. That the 1748 Act was being applied in Glasgow can be demonstrated by a newspaper report of the arrest that week of a Highland lad “for wearing trouse contrare to a late act of Parliament”, and there certainly were prisoners in Glasgow awaiting transportation at this time.⁴³ The petition points to a specific complaint by the Presbytery, and this may relate to the presence in the city that summer of Major James Wolfe with the 20th Regiment of Foot, and the temporary absence of their regimental chaplain.⁴⁴

Whatever their regrets, Episcopalians not fiercely committed to the Jacobite cause had an understandable reason to abandon the proscribed Scottish Episcopal congregation for an officially licensed one. Indeed, it is something of a puzzle why it should have taken the non-Jacobites quite so many years to replace the qualified chapel destroyed by rioters in 1714.⁴⁵ This was not the only licensed congregation founded in the south-west of Scotland after the uprising; there were others at Ayr and Dumfries.⁴⁶

For taking on the work to build the new Episcopal chapel, Andrew Hunter, one of the masons, was excommunicated by the Shuttle Street Secession Church,⁴⁷ a demonstration that Episcopalianism, even pro-government Episcopalianism, continued to cause outrage in some

⁴² SMCG, 60/4: G. Graeme, sermon on Psalm 119 verse 73.

⁴³ *Glasgow Courant*, 14 August 1749; 24 July 1749.

⁴⁴ R. Wright, *The life of Major-General James Wolfe* (London, 1864), 134: “I got the reputation of a very good Presbyterian, by frequenting the Kirk of Scotland till our chaplain appeared” (13 August 1749).

⁴⁵ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, i, 563-4 (letter to James Hart, 26 August 1714).

⁴⁶ Bertie, *Episcopal Clergy*, 101 (Nathaniel Morgan at Ayr); 40 (Mr Farquhar at Dumfries).

⁴⁷ J. F. S. Gordon, *The history of Glasgow – Glasglm Facies* (Glasgow, 1873), 546.

quarters. Indeed, the location chosen for the chapel has defensive elements, tucked into the confluence of two burns – the Molendinar provided a moat along the west side, with the Camlachie Burn separating the chapel from Glasgow Green.⁴⁸

In November 1751, when the chapel was “far advanced, the walls and roof being finished” the chapel managers petitioned Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London, “to provide them in a pastor ... who shall be under your Lordship’s direction”.⁴⁹ Six months later they report, that “the chapel, which we believe is the most beautifull of the kind in Scotland ... will be finished in a few weeks”.⁵⁰ Although described in 1760 by the widely-travelled Irish bishop, Richard Pococke, as “a very handsome oblong square church ... on the model of the churches in London”,⁵¹ and when the galleries had been installed it could seat about 500,⁵² its external elevations are much the same as the elegant town houses of the period, such as the pedimented villas surviving in Miller Street and nearby Charlotte Street, and it is a simple and modest building compared with the grandeur of the parish church built nearby at the same time.⁵³

According to Cleland, the new congregation was provided with its first minister, James Riddoch, in 1750, with John Falconer replacing him after just one year.⁵⁴ This would have surprised Falconer, who writes of not one but two predecessors, “the first resigned at the end of

⁴⁸ Reid, *Glasgow past and present*, iii, 225. Both burns have since been hidden underground.

⁴⁹ GCA, TD423/1/1, Minute Book, 7, minute dated 26 September 1751; Lambeth Palace Library [LPL], FP Sherlock 3f.1, First petition to the Bishop of London, 4 November 1751.

⁵⁰ LPL, FP Sherlock 3f.3, Second petition to the Bishop of London, 8 May 1752.

⁵¹ R. Pococke, *Tours in Scotland, 1747, 1759, 1760*, ed. D. W. Kemp (Edinburgh, 1887), 50.

⁵² GCA, TD423/1/1, Minute Book, 31, seating plan.

⁵³ A detailed description of the church appears in W. M. Wadc, *Tour of modern, and peep into ancient Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1822), 260.

⁵⁴ Cleland, *Annals*, i, 140–141.

one year, and the second at the end of four".⁵⁵ In fact, Cleland's list gets the dates wrong, muddles up the lengths of the incumbencies, and completely omits the first incumbent.



Glasgow's licensed Episcopal chapel opened in 1752
(R. Edwards)

The chapel's first incumbent had indeed been provided by the Bishop of London.⁵⁶ It was reported in the *Glasgow Herald* that on Sunday 17 September 1752, "divine service was performed in the English chapel here for the first time, by the Reverend Mr Thomas Pollen".⁵⁷ Pollen, an

⁵⁵ GCA, TD423/1/1, Minute Book, 165, letter from J. Faleoner to the managers of the Episcopal chapel, 11 April 1796.

⁵⁶ LPL, FP Sherlock 3f.4, Testimonial recommending the Rev. Thomas Pollen, M.A., undated.

⁵⁷ *Glasgow Journal*, 25 September 1752.

Oxford friend of John Wesley,⁵⁸ was described by John Berriman⁵⁹ as “a worthy clergyman and esteemed a good scholar”.⁶⁰ John Falconer is correct in his assertion that the first incumbent was not long in Glasgow, for by February 1754 Pollen had been appointed missionary⁶¹ to Rhode Island.⁶²

James Riddoch was, therefore, the second incumbent of the licensed chapel, starting in about 1754. Riddoch, from Banffshire, was a graduate of Aberdeen University. Information about his time in Glasgow is limited, but Samuel Clapham would later write that:

He [i.e., Riddoch] undertook the care of a school, during which period, he received holy orders in the Church of England, and having officiated some little time as a clergyman in Perth, he was afterwards settled as pastor of the English Episcopal chapel in the city of Glasgow.... He was induced to accept of a call from a more numerous congregation at St Paul’s chapel in Aberdeen, in 1757.”⁶³

The third incumbent, John Falconer, arrived in Glasgow late in 1757,⁶⁴

⁵⁸ V. H. H. Green, *The young Mr Wesley, a study of John Wesley and Oxford* (London, 1961), 74.

⁵⁹ John Berriman, Rector of St Alban’s Church, Wood Street, London, was one of four London clergy to sign the testimonial recommending Thomas Pollen submitted to the Bishop of London (LPL, FP Sherlock 3f.4).

⁶⁰ E. Beardsley, *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D. D.* (New York, 1874), iv, 176-177.

⁶¹ Sent there by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

⁶² J. B. Hattendorf, *Semper Eadem, a history of Trinity Church in Newport, 1698-2000* (Newport, 2001), 93-96.

⁶³ *Sermons selected and abridged, &c.*, ed. S. Clapham, 2nd edition (London, 1815), iii, pp. lviii-lxi; J. Riddoch, *Six occasional sermons on important subjects* (Aberdeen, 1762).

⁶⁴ GCA, TD423/2/1, Register of Baptisms. John Falconer had been ordained deacon for Musselburgh in 1754 by Bishop Richard Osbaldeston of Carlisle, and priest the following year (Cumbria Archive Centre (Carlisle) [CAC], DRC1/7. Bishops’ Register, 246, 253.

and was to remain at the chapel for half a century.⁶⁵ Assistant clergy were appointed from 1785, the first, William Andrews, had previously been rector of Portsmouth, Virginia.⁶⁶

The licensed chapel was akin to a private chapel attached to some stately home, potentially a capricious arrangement. Its “English” label tends to be interpreted rather too literally. The chapel was certainly operating as though it were under the supervision of the Church of England, its clergy had received Church of England ordination, and it must have been using the English Book of Common Prayer (although this is nowhere specified). In this it was no more than satisfying the restrictions laid down in the 1746 and 1748 Acts.

It is worth considering how the congregation described itself. The label, “Church of England”, is hardly used, other than in the petitions to English bishops.⁶⁷ The term “English church” is seen from 1750, and is probably the name adopted in common parlance. However, terms such as “of the Episcopal persuasion”, and “of the Episcopal Communion” occur before construction commenced,⁶⁸ and in the 1760s John Falconer talks of the “licensed Episcopal chapel” (technically, of course, it was not the chapel, but the minister who was licensed), and refers to himself as the “qualified Episcopal minister”.⁶⁹ By the 1780s this has been reduced to “the Episcopal chapel”.⁷⁰ It seems therefore that the congregation considered the chapel to be part of the Episcopalian tradition in Scotland, rather than an off-shoot of the Church of England.

⁶⁵ John Falconer was buried in Glasgow on 28 October 1807, aged 80 (GCA, TD423/2/2, Register of Burials, St Andrew’s Episcopal Church Yard, Willow Acre, Glasgow 1798–1826).

⁶⁶ Reid, *Glasgow past and present*, iii, 246; GCA, TD423/1/1, Minute Book, 24, meeting on 13 January 1785.

⁶⁷ A reference to “people of the communion of the Church of England” appears in the record of a deposition of 1755, see *Records and charters of the burgh of Glasgow*, ed. R. Fenwick (Glasgow, 1911), vi, 586.

⁶⁸ GCA, TD423/1/1, Minute Book, a meeting held on 15 March 1750.

⁶⁹ GCA, TD423/2/1, Register of baptisms, 25 November 1765; 7 December 1769.

⁷⁰ GCA, TD423/1/1, Minute Book, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20.

There were certainly Scots in the congregation, including children of the old Episcopal clergy, for example, Christian Hay, the daughter of John Hay, the parson of New Monklands before the Revolution, and married to Andrew Stalker, bookseller and editor of the "Glasgow Journal".⁷¹ The chapel attracted some distinguished seat holders, notably, the Duchess of Hamilton (Elizabeth Anne Burrell), for whom a canopied pew hung round with crimson would be provided in the centre of the north balcony.⁷² The duchess was not alone in travelling some distance to attend the licensed chapel.⁷³

Falconer's baptismal register shows that about a quarter of the fathers were in the military, their regiments mainly not Scottish. Perhaps unexpectedly, most of the rest were artisans, with a few labourers and servants; whilst occasional baptisms took place in landed and titled families, men in the professions rarely make an appearance. The country of origin of non-military fathers, recorded erratically, shows men from England and Ireland, with a few from the Continent and Jamaica. Perhaps a quarter to a third of the fathers of infants brought for baptism were Scottish.⁷⁴

The reaction of the Glasgow public to the new chapel was unexpected, as Arthur Petrie (later the Bishop of Moray) explained to his uncle, John Alexander (the Bishop of Dunkeld) six months after the opening. The Wynd Kirk had become unsafe, so the minister, unable to use his own building, "preaches in the Barony Kirk betwixt 12 and 2 o'clock, and," continues Petrie, "then his hearers come all or most part of them to the chapel. This, you will say, is a wonderful alteration in Glasgow."⁷⁵

⁷¹ Gordon, *History of Glasgow*, 523 note; Wodrow, *Early letters*, 254 (letter to Lachlan Campbell, February 1703).

⁷² GCA, TD423/1/1, Minute Book, 30, minute for 19 December 1785.

⁷³ Gordon, *History of Glasgow*, 537.

⁷⁴ GCA, TD423/2/1, Register of Baptisms.

⁷⁵ Gordon, *History of Glasgow*, 490-492, letter from A. Petrie to Bishop J. Alexander, 5 March 1753.

Services at the Licensed Episcopal Chapel

It seems that from early on, music on a model pretty unusual, even alien, to Scotland was performed at the chapel. From Stalker's newspaper we learn that the clerk to the chapel, John Buchanan, opened a school for teaching church music in 1756.⁷⁶ Four years later, Bishop Pococke, on his Whitsuntide visit to Glasgow, preached at the chapel.⁷⁷ He writes that, "they perform divine service in a most decent and solemn manner, chanting the hymns and singing the psalms extremely well, insomuch that I think I never saw divine offices performed with such real edification".⁷⁸

Stalker's newspaper reported the visit of another bishop, Dr Charles Lyttelton of Carlisle,⁷⁹ who preached in the licensed chapel in 1764, attending the service in the high church in the afternoon.⁸⁰ John Wesley visited the chapel in 1776, recording that:

The next day I returned to Glasgow, and on Sunday, 12th [May], went in the morning to the high kirk (to show I was no bigot,) and in the afternoon to the Church of England chapel. The decency of behaviour here surprises me more and more. I know nothing like it in these kingdoms, except among the Methodists.⁸¹

Famously, of course, in 1775 the chapel had installed the first organ in a place of worship in Glasgow since the Reformation,⁸² although the band or orchestra continued as well. By 1785 the chapel was boasting both a boys' choir and a collegiate style of worship, the latter made possible by

⁷⁶ *Glasgow Journal*, 20 December 1756.

⁷⁷ *Glasgow Journal*, 29 May 1760.

⁷⁸ Pococke, *Tours in Scotland*, 50-51, Letter X, Glasgow, 25 May 1760. Pococke also mentions "a small non-juring Episcopal congregation".

⁷⁹ *DNB*, xxxiv, 955, Charles Lyttelton.

⁸⁰ *Glasgow Journal*, 23 August 1764.

⁸¹ J. Wesley, *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley* (London, 1827), iv, 72.

⁸² Cleland, *Annals*, i, 142. One of the pejorative names for the church, "the Whistlin' Kirk", is remembered in the name of a nearby public house.

the appointment of William Andrews.⁸³ At about this time the chapel published the first of a series of hymn-books.⁸⁴ Some idea of the musical aspiration can be gauged from a concert of sacred music performed by the choir in 1789, which included works by Handel, Boyce, and Marcello.⁸⁵ By 1796, the band had been robed in white surplices, unwillingly according to John Falconer.⁸⁶

It comes as a surprise to discover that the incumbent was not himself responsible for this musical elaboration. When first appointed John Falconer was employed only on fixed-term contracts,⁸⁷ and he complained in 1796 that the chapel's managers had restricted his stipend whilst:

Our funds were exhausted in converting a plain chapel into a miniature cathedral, and the solemn form of worship into show and music, having an extravagant Frenchman superintendent of the band who squandered public money in feasting those under his charge.⁸⁸

This was not the first complaint about mismanagement of chapel affairs, a result sometimes of negligence and at other times of the grandiose

⁸³ GCA, TD423/1/1, Minute Book, 25-26, meeting held on 13 January 1785; *Glasgow Mercury*, 10 November 1785.

⁸⁴ TD423/1/1, Minute Book, 10, lists £2 0s. 6d paid for printing hymns (1 February 1783); J. Wilkinson, *Centenary souvenir of St Andrew's Church* (Glasgow, 1905), 46, includes the title page of *A collection of sacred music published for the use of the Episcopal chapel in Glasgow, by the managers* (Glasgow, 1787); *A collection of hymns and anthems for the use of the Episcopal chapel, Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1805, 1814, 1818, and 1823).

⁸⁵ *Glasgow Mercury*, 12 May 1789.

⁸⁶ GCA, TD423/1/1, Minute Book, 166, letter from J. Falconer to the managers of the Episcopal chapel, 11 April 1796.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 21. A general meeting held on 30 December 1784 approved life tenure.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 166, letter from J. Falconer to the managers of the Episcopal chapel, 11 April 1796.

plans of a group of chapel managers and principal seat renters.⁸⁹

Proscribed Scottish Episcopalians

Meanwhile Glasgow's proscribed Scottish Episcopalians continued in their adherence to their clergy and traditions, and their allegiance to the Stuart line – King James VIII, son and successor to James VII. Without that allegiance the privations to which they were subject would have had no point, and it says much for their moral purpose that the gaudy delights of the licensed chapel did not deflect them.

The fragmentary information we have suggests that the congregation did manage to operate, although quite how may never be established. As we have already seen George Graeme read his sermons in his own room. There are clues as to where they were meeting. Petrie addressed a letter in 1753 quite openly, it seems, to “the Reverend Mr George Graeme, opposite to the Candlerigs’ sugar-house, Glasgow”.⁹⁰ This is presumably the “hired house” noted on one of his sermons.⁹¹ Cleland’s reference to “a larger dwelling-house”⁹² also points to a domestic building, and may mean one with many rooms, the congregation in small groups able to follow the service;⁹³ so perhaps Graeme was reading his sermons in his room in rather a loud voice. Graeme’s purpose in Glasgow would have been clear to his former congregation, and yet, despite the legislation offering a reward, no

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 21, minutes of general meeting, 30 December 1784; GUL, Sp Coll Mu24-y.1, J. Jackson. Some further account of the proceedings for effecting a reformation in the management of the affairs of the Episcopal congregation in Glasgow, &c. (Glasgow, 1791).

⁹⁰ Gordon, *History of Glasgow*, 491. The wester sugar-house occupied the south corner where Bell Street meets Candleriggs (Reid, *Glasgow Past and Present*, iii, 456).

⁹¹ NAS, CH12/16/144, G. Graeme, manuscript sermon.

⁹² Cleland, *Annals*, i, 140: “Mr George Graham [sic] from Perthshire; he succeeded Bishop Dunan in 1740. During Mr Graham’s incumbency, the congregation removed to a larger dwelling-house, in Candlerigg-Street.”

⁹³ Goldie, *Episcopal Church*, 60.

evidence has come to light to indicate that Graeme or any member of his congregation fell victim to the legal sanctions.

Graeme corresponded with Bishop John Alexander of Dunkeld, living at Alloa, and purchased books for him.⁹⁴ The letters show how upset Graeme was by the split in the congregation. In April 1753, he writes to the bishop:

I have not visited the chapel pastor, for which I am blamed, and want your opinion in the matter. He and his constituents have little reason to grudge me the number I have in town or to persecute me for them, but the whole gentry in the country have as yet adhered to me.⁹⁵

The bishop must have responded to this letter, because Graeme later writes, "I thank you for directing me how to carry with my anti-priest." Graeme then lists his reasons for not visiting the new arrival:

That as I had no hand in bringing him here, so I had the less reason to make him a visit, which I looked upon as in effect bidding him welcome.

That at first, there was not an extraordinary good harmony and agreement between him and his congregation, nor among his congregation themselves, which differences ... I did not know, but they might, in some measure, [have] been alleged to have proceeded from my unfavourable representations of them to him.

⁹⁴ NAS, CH12/23/242, 250, 394, 809, and 816, letters from G. Graeme to Bishop J. Alexander, 28 October 1741, 9 December 1741, 25 April 1744, 25 April 1753, 16 May 1753.

⁹⁵ NAS, CH12/23/809, letter from G. Graeme to Bishop J. Alexander, 25 April 1753. As a postscript to the letter Graeme adds, "Your nephew [Arthur Petrie, son of Alexander's sister] was here in town till Easter Monday afternoon. He is very well and for aught I ever observed very pliable in his temper and the family of Walkinshaw continue to be well pleased with him".

That it was unavoidable, if I should keep company with him, but to come of talking how they had behaved to me; and that it would be little to their praise, or his encouragement, to tell they had gone away from me to him – about 30 £st [i.e., £30 sterling] in my debt 4 G [i.e., 4 guineas] of which owing by A. Stalker & 3 [guineas] by Rob. Tenant, the keenest promoters of ye new house.

Finally I told them I knew no right any body had to know the reasons of that, or any other part of my conduct, expect my ecclesiastical superiors.

Graeme concludes, “that indeed, I had a much better one [i.e., reason] than those I had named, but it was neither necessary, nor proper, everyone should know it. You will guess, no doubt, what I meant was schism, which, I know not how these people can clearly be defended from”.⁹⁶

The nature of the relationship between the two congregations may well have been quite complex, and it is probably over-simplistic to assume their separation to be complete. Did a rapprochement develop between the clergy? Did families move between the two congregations, or split between them? Did the proscribed congregation use the licensed chapel for baptism and matrimony? Whilst Graeme and his congregation must have shared largely Jacobite sympathies, it does not follow that the congregation of the licensed chapel, although conforming, was uniformly non-Jacobite. A glimpse into this complexity can be found in one of Graeme’s letters, when he writes to Bishop Alexander: “You will have heard of Mrs McDouall’s death, which will be to my loss, tho’ she went sometimes to the chapel, yet she communicate with me at Easter last & Christmas too”.⁹⁷ Mrs McDowall, was the widow of Colonel William McDowall of Castle

⁹⁶ NAS, CH12/23/816, letter from G. Graeme to Bishop J. Alexander, 16 May 1753.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

Semple,⁹⁸ owner of the Shawfield Mansion occupied by Charles Edward Stuart during his week in Glasgow⁹⁹, whose son was an early trustee of the licensed chapel.¹⁰⁰

A tenuous connection between George Graeme and John Falconer has survived, its significance far from clear. Sheets which appear to come from Graeme's sermons have been bound into Falconer's baptismal register.¹⁰¹ Some of Graeme's sermons may, therefore, have ended up in Falconer's hands. From Falconer we learn that Graeme received an annual grant from the mortification of the Revd John Anderson of St Christopher [St Kitts], set up in 1735 to provide "a yearly annuity of £10 St:g to a Minister of the Communion of the Church of England performing divine service in each of the cities of Edinburgh, St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen".¹⁰²

Given the proscription of the Scottish Episcopal Church at this period, it is no surprise that the membership of Graeme's congregation is difficult to identify. Mrs McDowall, Andrew Stalker and Robert Tennant are examples of people attracted from Graeme's congregation to the licensed chapel. Indeed, it is reasonable to assume that most if not all of the licensed chapel's first trustees had been members of Graeme's

⁹⁸ *Glasgow Journal*, 14 May 1753; D. Hamilton, "Scottish Trading in the Caribbean", in *Nation and Province in the First British Empire*, ed. N. C. Landsman (Lewisburg, 2001), 98-100.

⁹⁹ Anon, "Notes from an old diary relating to the Rebellion of 1745", in *Scots Magazine* lxxxv (Edinburgh, 1820), 339.

¹⁰⁰ *Records and charters of burgh of Glasgow*, vi, 586.

¹⁰¹ GCA, TD423/2/1, Register of baptisms, four pages from G. Graeme sermon covers, bound into the volume as fly-leaves. The dates on them cover the period from 1729 to 1757; one refers to Cumbernauld, the rest to Glasgow, with "in my room, Glasgow" noted from 1752. Other indications that the original use of these sheets was as sermon covers: a biblical text on one page (1 Peter 2, 21); what appears to be a page number (6) on an otherwise blank page.

¹⁰² GCA, TD423/1/1, Minute Book, 166, letter from J. Falconer to the managers of the Episcopal chapel, 11 April 1796.

congregation at one time.¹⁰³ Two of these directors – Alexander Oswald and James Dennistoun – had been suspected of Jacobite sympathies just a few years earlier.¹⁰⁴ In 1744 Graeme is in contact with the young Lord Blantyre, Walter Stuart,¹⁰⁵ but by 1777 it is the licensed John Falconer who is invited to Erskine House to baptise the son of a later Lord Blantyre.¹⁰⁶ In 1753 Graeme refers to “the numbers I have in town” and that “the whole gentry in the country have as yet adhered to me”.¹⁰⁷ However, apart from Arthur Petrie, Mr Walkinshaw of Walkinshaw,¹⁰⁸ and Mary Graeme (whose signature appears on a couple of Graeme’s sermons, and is, presumably, his daughter if not his wife¹⁰⁹), the membership of Graeme’s congregation after the split remains a mystery.

David Lyon

As with Alexander Duncan and George Graeme before him, the start of David Lyon’s ministry to Scottish Episcopalians in Glasgow cannot be dated with any precision. The year provided by Cleland – 1750 – cannot

¹⁰³ GCA, TD423/1/1, Minute Book, 2. The first nine directors of the licensed chapel, 15 March 1750: Alexander Oswald (merchant), Casper Claussen (sugar baker), James Dennistoun (merchant), Robert Parr (dyer), David Dalzell (merchant), Robert Tennent (vintner), David Cochran (merchant), George Sangster (tobacconist), and Andrew Stalker (book seller). The clerk-secretary was John Buchanan junior (writer).

¹⁰⁴ Cochrane, *Correspondence*, 108-109.

¹⁰⁵ NAS, CH12/23/394, letter from G. Graeme to Bishop J. Alexander, 25 April 1744.

¹⁰⁶ GCA, TD423/2/1, Register of Baptisms: “At Erskine House, June 24 1777, baptized Patrick lawful son to Alexander Steward, Lord Blantyre, &c.”.

¹⁰⁷ NAS, CH12/23/809, letter from G. Graeme to Bishop J. Alexander, 25 April 1753.

¹⁰⁸ Gordon, *History of Glasgow*, 490-492; NAS, CH12/23/809, letter from G. Graeme to Bishop J. Alexander, 25 April 1753. The reference to “the family of Walkinshaw” points to James Walkinshaw of that ilk.

¹⁰⁹ SMCG, 60/2 and 6, G. Graeme, manuscript sermons.

be correct,¹¹⁰ as we know that Graeme's death was sometime after John Falconer's arrival at the end of 1757. Indeed, the gap between Graeme's death and Lyon's arrival provided Falconer with the opportunity to take over the annuity provided by Mr Anderson's mortification.¹¹¹ Lyon was certainly ministering in Glasgow by April 1760,¹¹² so he probably started in about 1759.

Events in the wider world were changing the lot of Jacobite Episcopalians.¹¹³ The accession to the throne of George II's grandson, George III, in 1760¹¹⁴ brought about a softening of opinion, and there were Scots with influence in the corridors of power.¹¹⁵ Alexander Carlyle describes dining "with a large company, mostly Scots, among whom were Mrs Walkinshaw ... and David Hume, by that time Under-Secretary of State". Carlyle explains that Mrs Walkinshaw "had a place at court, though she was sister of the lady who was said to be mistress to Prince Charles, the Pretender's son".¹¹⁶ From Lady Louisa Stuart we learn that "Mrs Catherine Walkinshaw, the princess dowager's bedchamber woman" was "the most eminent managing gossip in London, always busy about somebody's affairs, the advisor of every

¹¹⁰ Cleland, *Annals*, i, 140: "Mr Thomas [sic.] Lyon, from St. Andrews: he was admitted in 1750. About the year 1754, the congregation had so much increased, that it was removed to a large hall in Stockwell-Street". Historians relying on Cleland have continued to use the name "Thomas Lyon".

¹¹¹ GCA, TD423/1/1, Minute Book, 166, letter from J. Falconer to the managers of the Episcopal chapel, 11 April 1796.

¹¹² NAS, CH12/24/6, letter from D. Lyon to Bishop W. Falconer, 8 April 1760.

¹¹³ Goldie, *Short history of the Episcopal Church*, 63.

¹¹⁴ *DNB*, xxi, 831 (George II); 835 (George III).

¹¹⁵ *DNB*, xxi, 834-837 (George III). The Marquess of Bute is a notable example: a later Lord Bute would see Clementina Walkinshaw frequently in Paris (H. Tayler, *Prince Charlie's Daughter* (London, 1950), 149-150).

¹¹⁶ *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk*, ed. J. H. Burton (Edinburgh, 1860), 518. Hume was Under-Secretary of the Northern Department from February 1767 to January 1768, see *DNB*, xxviii, 754 (David Hume).

Scotch family, the protectress of every raw young Scotchman".¹¹⁷ It is difficult to believe that the activities of Glasgow's Jacobite Episcopalians – which in all probability included some of Catherine Walkinshaw's many sisters – were completely unknown at court.

A number of elements of Lyon's ministry are suggested by the surviving correspondence. In 1761 he writes of receiving a letter "on Christmas Day, just before going to Evening Prayer".¹¹⁸ Just four years before Graeme was preaching within the confines of his own room, but it seems that by 1761 Scottish Episcopal services had been able to emerge back into a meeting-house, indicating perhaps some relaxation locally in the application of the penal laws. This may, indeed, explain Cleland's assertion that the congregation moved from the dwelling-house of Graeme's time to a large hall in Stockwell Street,¹¹⁹ a move possibly not dictated (as Cleland suggests) by any significant increase in membership, but because that the congregation was becoming less circumspect.

Which bishop had Episcopal oversight for Glasgow at this period? The surviving correspondence points to William Falconer both when he was bishop of Moray, and when he became Primus.¹²⁰ Lyon was not all that happy with the arrangement. In about 1759 he submitted a petition to the Primus asking for Harie Edgar to be consecrated Bishop of Glasgow.¹²¹ This request was actually endorsed by Edgar and the then Primus, Robert White, early in 1760,¹²² but nothing came of it, and in 1762 Edgar succeeded White as bishop of Fife.¹²³

¹¹⁷ *Familiar letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. D. Douglas (Edinburgh, 1894), ii, 208-209.

¹¹⁸ NAS, CH12/12/1104, letter from D. Lyon to Bishop R. Forbes, 29 December 1761.

¹¹⁹ Cleland, *Annals*, i, 140. The date Cleland gives for the move, "about the year 1754", is contradicted by Graeme's sermons, which show Graeme preaching "in his room" at least until July 1757.

¹²⁰ NAS, CH12/24/6 and 778, letters from D. Lyon to Bishop W. Falconer, 8 April 1760 and 30 May 1764; Bertie, *Episcopal clergy*, 40; Reid, *Glasgow past and present*, iii, 250.

¹²¹ NAS, CH12/24/6, letter from D. Lyon to Bishop W. Falconer, 8 April 1760.

¹²² *Ibid.*, insert.

¹²³ Bertie, *Episcopal Clergy*, 38 (Henry Edgar).

In 1764 David Lyon writes to Primus Falconer:

You may remember I have several times talked with you about the desolate state of this part of the Church. For ought I know there has been never a bishop of our Communion, since the death of the R. R. Bp [i.e., Right Reverend Bishop] Duncan (which I am apt to think may be 30 years ago) who has performed his function in it.¹²⁴

Lyon asks the Primus to visit Glasgow to Confirm members of his congregation, but he adds that, if this is inconvenient, “your colleague & my good friend Bp [Bishop Robert] Forbes in Leith” might come instead. The Primus forwarded the request to Forbes, who confirmed arrangements with Lyon. Lyon tells Forbes that, “next Lord’s Day afternoon I shall, God willing, discourse to my people on the nature, &c., of Confirmation, & acquaint them publickly of their having the opportunity of having the divine favour conferred upon them”. Lyon advises his friend to “come straight to my house, where breakfast shall be waiting you”.¹²⁵ With no other information available we can only assume that the Confirmations did take place, as it seems unlikely Lyon would have initiated the correspondence with no candidates in mind. Surely, it can be no coincidence that the Bishop of Carlisle would pay a visit to the licensed chapel just a couple of months later?

Lyon’s ministry was not confined to the city. In his 1764 letter to William Falconer, Lyon writes that he “must set out for the south country on Tuesday or Wednesday after Trinity Sunday”,¹²⁶ echoing a three-week tour to “the south country” mentioned a few years earlier.¹²⁷ It looks, therefore, as though Lyon was making regular visits from his base in Glasgow to Scottish Episcopalians scattered round the diocese. In 1760, Edgar had written of “the only resident officiating presbyter in the diocese of Glasgow”, which must be a reference to David Lyon.

¹²⁴ NAS, CH12/12/778, letter from D. Lyon to Bishop W. Falconer, 30 May 1764.

¹²⁵ NAS, CH12/12/779, letter from D. Lyon to Bishop R. Forbes, 6 June 1764.

¹²⁶ NAS, CH12/12/778, letter from D. Lyon to Bishop W. Falconer, 30 May 1764.

¹²⁷ NAS, CH12/24/6, letter from D. Lyon to Bishop W. Falconer, 8 April 1760.

Edgar goes on to mention that “the only other clergyman in the bounds ... had no charge”;¹²⁸ presumably a reference to Mr Farquhar, an Episcopal presbyter licensed in Dumfries under the 1746 Act, only to be outlawed two years later.¹²⁹

In the summer of 1769 David Lyon and his wife with their servant Sandy headed south to meet up with the English non-juror bishop, Robert Gordoun. Gordoun was based in London,¹³⁰ but had a sister at Dumfries. As Gordoun travelled north he writes that it is in Dumfries that “honest David Lyon and his wife are to meet me”.¹³¹ The Lyons accompanied Gordoun to a meeting with Bishop Forbes at the house of Angus MackDonell at Moffat, at which the Jacobite cause was discussed, particularly the succession¹³² in the light of a recent visit made by Laurence and Margaret Oliphant of Gask to the exiled king in Rome,¹³³ Charles’s father, James VIII, having died in 1766.¹³⁴ Lyon’s role in the Moffat meeting was probably that of guide and secretary. It is worth noting that 80 years after the Revolution, the Glasgow congregation, having already provided Charles with a mistress, was still engaged in Jacobite intrigue.¹³⁵ Indeed, the Moffat meeting mirrors John Walkinshaw’s involvement in dynastic negotiations half a century earlier.¹³⁶

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, insert.

¹²⁹ Bertie, *Episcopal Clergy*, 40.

¹³⁰ *Visitations of Robert Forbes*, ed. Craven, 30 note, 32-38.

¹³¹ R. Forbes, *The Lyon in mourning*, ed. H. Paton (Edinburgh, 1895), iii, 226, letter from Bishop R. Gordon to Bishop R. Forbes, 8 July 1769.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 231-236, is a careful minute of their meeting.

¹³³ Oliphant, *Lairds of Gask*, 359-361.

¹³⁴ *DNB*, xxix, 677 (James Francis Edward Stuart).

¹³⁵ *DNB*, xx, 308 (Robert Forbes). The *DNB* entry for Robert Forbes cannot be correct when it identifies Lyon as the alias for the Oliphants of Gask. In Forbes, *Lyon in Mourning*, the Lyons and the Oliphants are mentioned in adjacent sentences in a letter from Gordoun (p. 226), whilst the alias for the Oliphants is given as “Brown” (p. 221). Further, it seems unlikely that Forbes would describe the gentry in the ribald terms he applies to Lyon (pp. 239-240). The Lyons, not the Oliphants, were present at the secret meeting at Moffat.

¹³⁶ Edwards, “Terror and intrigue”, in *RSCHS*, xl, 61.

The serious business attended to, the party set out on a “jaunt of pleasure” to view the Grey Mare’s Tail waterfall. Forbes’s account of the excursion is delightful, and includes a pen portrait of Lyon himself: we learn that David Lyon’s corpulence impeded his ascent to the falls; that “after resting a little he rose up and took a view of it with his specs on his nose”; and that on the return journey the party was surprised to witness “Mr David hitching down like any hare on his breech”, causing much mirth “which made the hills resound with a loud peal of laughter”.¹³⁷

The party dispersed, Bishop Forbes and his wife taking leave of Mr and Mrs Lyon at the top of Errickstane Brae, where their roads diverged.¹³⁸ David Lyon’s death at Glasgow on 11 May 1773, at the age of 64, was reported in both the *Glasgow Journal* and *The Scots Magazine*.¹³⁹ From Bishop Gordoun, writing from London the following year, we learn that, “poor Mrs Lyon tells me Mr Bell was very angry with her servant, Sandy, because he had insisted that his late master had not given up the charge of Dumfries before his death. This I presume is advanced on Mr Bell’s part to cut off the poor widow from her just claim to her share in the emoluments”.¹⁴⁰ Bishop Gordoun was to return to the subject of Mrs Lyon and her financial provision several times in subsequent letters.¹⁴¹

Discussion

After the 1745 uprising the hundreds of Episcopalians in and around Glasgow split into two parts, a schism determined by the possible

¹³⁷ Forbes, *Lyon in Mourning*, iii, 236-240.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 240.

¹³⁹ *Glasgow Journal*, 13 May 1773; *The Scots Magazine* xxxv. (Edinburgh, 1773), 279; Mitchell Library Glasgow, Glasgow High Kirk Parish Registers, Burials x. 1773-1778, ed. A. Jamieson of Barnach, 1975.

¹⁴⁰ Forbes, *Lyon in Mourning*, iii, 335, letter from Bishop R. Gordon to Bishop R. Forbes, 11 October 1774. The suggestion in the index of *The Lyon in Mourning* that this refers to the Rev. Robert Lyon’s widow seems unlikely.

¹⁴¹ Forbes, *The Lyon in Mourning*, iii, 363, 365, 373.

responses to legislation: whether to abide by it (reluctantly or with enthusiasm), or attempt its circumvention.

Those who followed the former course ended up with a distinguished congregation in an attractive church, providing ever-increasing pomp.

The latter course, thwarted by the legal sanctions of imprisonment and transportation, led to the congregation operating, if only for a few years, covertly.

It seems there was little to prevent individuals moving between congregations. Whilst the decision as to which congregation to support tends to be viewed in narrowly political terms, both alternatives demanded compromise.

The Scottish Episcopalians, even though their diocesan and parish structures had long collapsed, had managed after a fashion to maintain the integrity of the episcopate, and the clergy were subject to canonically-consecrated bishops. There is ample evidence for the episcopal oversight of Glasgow's Scottish Episcopal clergy; indeed, the only correspondence to survive is with bishops, and it is candid, deferential, and largely amiable. Even if no bishop set foot in Glasgow for the three decades after the death of Bishop Duncan, regular communication between bishop and clergy was probably maintained, they were meeting, and it is clear that clergy sought and followed episcopal direction.

The severe legal restraints undoubtedly compromised the articulation of their worship and, apart from indications that the Prayer Book calendar was being followed and sermons were read, the form Scottish Episcopal worship took in Glasgow is impossible to ascertain. History had certainly taught Scottish Episcopalians to be adaptable. Back in the 1680s whilst still Established, public worship had been presbyterian in form;¹⁴² we first hear of English ceremonies locally in 1710, and over time these presumably replaced the old Episcopal

¹⁴² T. Morer, *A short account of Scotland, &c.* (London, 1702), 59-62.

traditions. After disestablishment, what Glasgow's Episcopalians could do was restricted both by public antipathy and the need to meet in domestic premises, and also by the local interpretation of the various Acts of Parliament curtailing Episcopalian activity, in particular the 1719 Act.¹⁴³ So, when the 1746 Act presented further obstacles, Glasgow Episcopalians were probably quite adept at adjusting their activities to the circumstances. It seems that by the early 1760s the punitive legislation could be ignored.

In the context of the dominant presbyterian and Hanoverian consensus within Glasgow and the west, it is perhaps remarkable that a Scottish Episcopal congregation survived at all. There is a reference, dating from 1799, to the congregation being a religious society,¹⁴⁴ and this may provide a clue as to the way they operated. The incumbent, in addition to leading the congregation in Glasgow, provided a peripatetic ministry as far as Dumfries, nearly 80 miles (125 km) away – a pretty heroic undertaking. That the activities of Scottish Episcopalians are so little reported, whilst frustrating for the historian, may be as much an indication of their tacit acceptance by the community as of their success circumventing the legislation. A connection to the London court may have proved useful.

The licensed Episcopal chapel, in contrast, was well able to perform the Church of England liturgy, and did so with enthusiasm and flamboyance. Its worship probably bore little relation to anything seen in the city since the re-establishment of the episcopate in 1610. The visit by the Bishop of Carlisle to the chapel in 1764 suggests there may have been a degree of episcopal oversight for the congregation, although it may be no more than a gesture of friendship towards them. Despite John Falconer's long ministry at the licensed chapel, none of his letters or sermons have been found, and there is no documentation to shed light on the relationship.

¹⁴³ Edwards, "Terror and intrigue", in *RSCHS*, xl, 41-64.

¹⁴⁴ Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1914), 158, 19 August 1799.

This paper has been rather critical of the information provided by Cleland, but here is his observation on the matter:

The English Episcopalians ... although strictly Episcopal, had not the privilege of being placed under the immediate control of any ecclesiastical superior, the English bishops having no jurisdiction in Scotland since the Revolution.

Cleland is pointing out that the 1689 Act abolishing prelacy in Scotland¹⁴⁵ was tying the hands of Church of England bishops, in a way they were not tied with regard to Anglican clergy anywhere else in the world. The one thing Glasgow's licensed Episcopal chapel was not, strictly speaking, was episcopal; although the clergy had been episcopally ordained, thereafter they were subject to no episcopal oversight. The choice for Glasgow's Episcopalians from 1752 was, therefore, between a congregation which could provide the show of Episcopalianism and a congregation which provided its essence.

It cannot, however, be as simple as that. The registers of the bishops of Carlisle show that in the three decades after 1754, fifteen men were ordained for specific licensed Episcopal congregations across Scotland, and by successive bishops of Carlisle. It is particularly striking that three of these men (for Dalkeith, Musselburgh, and Dunkeld) were ordained by Bishop Charles Lyttelton just one month after the bishop paid his visit to Glasgow in 1764;¹⁴⁶ the provision of licensed clergy must therefore have been under discussion whilst Lyttelton was in Scotland. The other Church of England diocese then bordering Scotland was Durham, and its bishops ordained a further dozen Scottish candidates.¹⁴⁷ Before a Scottish candidate was ordained,

¹⁴⁵ Parliament at Edinburgh, 22 July, 1689, Acts of Parliament, Scotland. *Acta Parliamentorum Guiliemi et Mariae*, ix, 104.

¹⁴⁶ CAC, DRC1/7-8, Bishops' Registers.

¹⁴⁷ University of Durham (Palace Green Library) [DPGL], DDR/EA/ACT/1/4D and 4E, Bishop's Registers (John Egerton), 1771-1784; DDR/EA/CLO/1/1A, Register of Ordinations, 1771-1786.

a certificate of Baptism, and academic and personal testimonials had to be submitted, along with a request from the congregation including their pledge for his stipend;¹⁴⁸ on at least one occasion the “Si Quis” had been read.¹⁴⁹ Some candidates were refused ordination.¹⁵⁰

Church of England bishops were, therefore, responding actively to the needs of Episcopalians in Scotland after the 1748 Act came into force. A particularly striking example of their involvement is a request by the bishop of Durham in 1782 to the bishops of Norwich and Chester to ordain William McKenzie for Dingwall.¹⁵¹ The testimonials demonstrate that licensed Episcopal clergy in Scotland kept in touch with each other, suggesting they operated as a national network if not as a diocese. Whilst the arrangement was far from satisfactory, English bishops were, it seems, more than willing to assist Episcopalians in Scotland as much as the law would permit.

Cathedral Church of St Mary the Virgin, Glasgow

¹⁴⁸ DPGL, DDR/EA/CLO/3/1753/17, Richard Jameson. By way of example, the records for the ordination of Richard Jameson include: a certificate of his Baptism at Biggar; a request for ordination from the congregation at Dumfries; testimonials from Edinburgh University, David Erskine of Dun, Norman Sievwright (licensed Episcopal chapel at Brechin), and Richard Fleming (licensed Episcopal chapel at Montrose).

¹⁴⁹ DPGL, DDR/EA/CLO/3/1785/5, James Bradfute.

¹⁵⁰ DPGL, DDR/EA.CLO/3/1783/11, William Reed.

¹⁵¹ DPGL, DDR/EA/CLO/1/1A, Register of Ordinations, 1771–1786.